1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

jungle and heavy rain throughout a large part of the year. There was little to tempt invaders, but in time it came to be occupied by defeated groups who had been driven from the more desirable coast and plateau. Once established, these groups had little contact with the outside world. There was almost no trade. Their neighbors to the east and north were lethargic and they were protected from the more warlike plateau tribes partly by their poverty in cattle and partly by the plateau people's dislike for jungle fighting. Diffusion from the neighboring areas was, therefore, reduced to a minimum.

According to Menabe traditions the aboriginal inhabitants of their territory were of very low culture. They offered no resistance to the settlement of the invading people and soon amalgamated with them. The early invaders, coming from both coast and plateau, are said to have been fairly uniform in culture. Possibly many of the historic differences between these areas had not yet been developed. The method of life which they established has continued in the region down to the present time with only slight modifications. Certain new features have been adopted, but these can be checked by reliable traditions which give both the group from whom the new trait was borrowed and the approximate time of its introduction.

The culture of the Tanala Menabe is still uniform in most details, the only really divergent division being the Zafimaniry, who came into the region from the plateau in relatively recent times. In comparison with the other Madagascar cultures it is relatively simple and I believe it to be archaic. In many respects it agrees closely with the ancient culture of the more advanced tribes, as revealed in their traditions.

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

304 178 The tattooing is purely decorative and informants say that it is a matter of fashion and seems to run in cycles. It will sometimes be out of style for years, then some popular young person will be tattooed and many of his or her friends will follow suit, often using the same designs. The patterns are pricked in with an ordinary needle and then rubbed with soot.

There seems to be no ornamental scarification and no mutilation.

TRANSPORTATION

482 [492] The Tanala make no use of animals for draft or burden and are unfamiliar with the wheel. Women carry loads on the head, but rarely take heavy ones and never act as professional bearers. Men sometimes carry on the head for short distances, but do it clumsily, being accustomed to using a shoulder pole. This pole is made from a large bamboo or sapling of light wood 2½ to 3 inches in diameter and is usually 5 to 6 feet long. If of wood, the bark is removed, but the pole is not shaped in any way. The load is divided as equally as possible and slung from the ends. Heavy loads are carried on a longer pole between two men.

481 The Tanala carry light loads, about thirty pounds per man being the standard pack for long distance travel. However, they march fast, making twenty to thirty miles a day over very difficult country. They march without rests, but halt for two hours or more in the middle of the day, cooking a meal and perhaps sleeping for a time. The trails are mostly very steep and narrow and take the most direct line, with little attention to the slope. There are no bridges.

484 [493] At the present time, white travelers and the richer natives are carried in sedan chairs (*filanjana*), which are borne on the shoulders of four men. The Tanala Menabe say that they did not use this appliance in pre-European times. There seems to have been very little long distance travel prior to the European conquest and even now the average native, unless drafted for labor, rarely goes more than twenty or thirty miles from the village of his birth.

501 Canoes are used, but are relatively unimportant. Most of the streams in the Tanala territory are shallow and swift, with many falls and rapids. There is no regular river transport and most of the canoes are used for ferrying or fishing. They are identical with the river canoes used by the east coast tribes, but are inferior in workmanship. Some of the largest are as much as 25 to 30 feet long, but none of them exceed 2 feet in width.

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

the village that a ward within the village occupied with relation to the *kianza* and was the property of the lineage occupying that ward. Actually, the outlines of these lineage holdings were irregular. Their limits were set by natural boundaries and there was an attempt to equalize their value. 621 423 596

At the time of making the *tavy*, the lineage land was temporarily divided among the various families, but it reverted to the lineage as soon as the crop was harvested. Lineage land, or, more correctly, the right to use it for agricultural purposes, was sometimes sold to members of other lineages within the village. This was a last resort and was only considered justifiable when some member of the lineage had been enslaved and his ransom could not be raised otherwise. It seems that such sales were often considered rather as pledges for loans, for every lineage tried to keep its land intact and would go to great lengths to buy back any which had been sold. When a lineage seceded from a village, it forfeited its land rights and its former territory could be occupied by the other lineages without recompense to it. 621 596 425

Among the Menabe two new developments in land ownership have occurred in recent times. Due to the increasing value of forest products, the lineages now preempt for their members the right to gather honey, wax and raffia within their territories. There is also an increasing tendency toward individual ownership of land. This is correlated with the introduction of irrigated rice culture. The preparation of rice beds requires much labor and they must be kept in repair constantly. A family which builds a terrace system is felt to have established its individual right to the land and retains it as long as the terraces remain in use. If the land is allowed to lie fallow for any length of time, however, it reverts to the lineage. This development is so recent that, as yet, there seems to be no rule regarding the sale of rice beds to members of other lineages. 423 178 596 [243]

Among the Ikongo the rules regarding land ownership seem to be much the same as among the Menabe except that individual ownership of rice fields is much older and better established. Such fields are inherited within the family and the lineage has little or no right over them. [184]

All property other than land is individually owned. This extends even to the least important tools and utensils. Everything in the establishment, from the house down, belongs to some particular member of the family. These rights of ownership are recognized even between parent and child in spite of the great theoretical power 421 593

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

828 158 available. It seems to play a relatively unimportant role in the culture of the Menabe and the native attitude toward it is much the same as that toward any other disease. Although the possessed receive much care and attention during the seizure, to be subject to [554] possession decreases rather than increases the prestige of the individual. Even persons who give oracles while possessed are, with few exceptions, rated below the regular *ombiasy* ("medicine-men"). All informants agreed that a person who was not subject to possession would make no attempt to become so.

178 158 There can be little doubt that spirit possession is becoming more frequent at the present time. This is probably due in part to increased contact with tribes who hold the concept. Thus Raindranaivo, my best informant from the Manandriana gens, says that the ceremonial features of possession have been taken over by his gens from the Betsileo, some of whom now live among them, and that the frequency of possession has greatly increased within his adult memory, about fifty years. Emotional stresses resulting from the break-up of the old culture may also play a part, for the epidemic outbreaks of possession among the Imerina occurred at the time when European culture began to make itself felt as a menace.

158 787 In both gentes the term *salamanga* is applied indiscriminately to the malady, the spirit causing it, the person suffering from it (during the time he is possessed), and the ceremony for its cure. The Zafindiamanana recognize two types of *salamanga*, the ordinary one and the *salamanga sakalava*, in which the possessed gives spirit messages, directions for making medicines, etc., during the seizure.

There seems to be a good deal of confusion about the spirits causing the ordinary *salamanga*. In general they are regarded as ancestral, but there seems to be no complete agreement on this, or as to whether more than one spirit can possess the same individual at different times. The ordinary *salamanga* usually does not know who his possessing spirit is. He is seized without warning and will drop whatever he is doing and run toward the village tomb or to some near-by lake or river, where he plunges in. His relatives pursue him and carry him back to the village bodily. Once there, he is released and begins to dance. If the bystanders do not sing and clap, to help him, he falls unconscious and becomes rigid, as though dead. After the victim has danced for a time and begins to show signs of exhaustion, one of his relatives takes the *hazomanga* (see p. 187), scrapes it with the regular invocation, and puts the dust in water. The victim drinks some of this and pours the rest over his head. He recovers